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"Finally, you will state the President's desire and hope that the undying memories which cling around The Hague as the cradle of the beneficent work which had its beginning in 1899 may be strengthened by holding the second peace conference in that historic city.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN HAY."

### Address of Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, at the Opening of the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress.

I esteem it a great honor and privilege to be allowed to extend to you the welcome of the government and the people of the United States of America on this memorable and auspicious occasion. No time could be more fitting for this gathering of a parliament of peace than to-day, when at the other end of the world the thunder of a destructive and sanguinary war is deafening the nations, while here we are preparing to settle the question of a vast transfer of power by an appeal to reason and orderly procedure, under the sanction of a law implicitly accepted by eighty millions of people.

And as if heaven had designed to give a sign of deepest significance to the hour of your meeting, it coincides with the commitment to eternal peace of all that was mortal of our dear and honored collaborer in this sacred cause. George Frisbie Hoar had many titles to glory and honor; not the least of them was the firm and consistent valor with which, through all his illustrious life, he pleaded for humanity and universal goodwill.

No place could be more suitable for your meeting than this high-hearted city, which has been for nearly three hundred years the birthplace and the home of every idea of progress and enlightenment which has germinated in the Western World. To bid you welcome to the home of Vane, of Winthrop, and of Adams, of Channing and Emerson, is to give you the freedom of no mean city, to make you partakers of a spiritual inheritance without which, with all our opulence, we should be poor indeed. It is true that this great Commonwealth has sought with the sword peace under liberty. We confess that many wars have left their traces in the pages of its history and its literature; art has adorned the public places of this stately town with the statues of its heroic sons. But the dominant note of its highest culture, its most persistent spirit, has been that righteousness which exalteth a nation, that obedience to the inner light which leads along the paths of peace. [Applause.]

And the policy of the nation at large, which owes so much of its civic spirit to the founders of New England, has been in the main a policy of peace. During the hundred and twenty years of our independent existence we have had but three wars with the outside world, though we have had a most grievous and dolorous struggle with our own people. We have had, I think, a greater relative immunity from war than any of our neighbors. All our greatest men have been earnest advocates of peace. The very men who founded our liberties with the mailed hand, detested and abhorred war as the most futile and ferocious of human follies.

Franklin and Jefferson repeatedly denounced it—the one with all the energy of his rhetoric, the other with the lambent fire of his wit. But not our philosophers alone—our fighting men have seen at close quarters how hideous is the face of war. Washington said, "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth"; and again he said, "We have experienced enough of its evils in this country to know that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon." There is no discordant note in the utterances of our most eminent soldiers on this subject. The most famous utterance of General Grant—the one which will linger longest in the memories of men—was the prayer of his war-weary heart, "Let us have peace." [Applause.] Sherman reached the acme of his marvelous gift of epigram when he said, "War is hell." And Abraham Lincoln, after the four terrible years in which he had directed our vast armies and navies, uttered on the threshold of eternity the fervent and touching aspiration that "the mighty scourge of war might speedily pass away."

There has been no solution of continuity in the sentiments of our Presidents on this subject up to this day. [Applause.] McKinley deplored with every pulse of his honest and kindly heart the advent of the war which he had hoped might not come in his day, and gladly hailed the earliest moment for making peace; and President Roosevelt has the same tireless energy in the work of concord that he displayed when he sought peace and ensued it on the field of battle. No Presidents in our history have been so faithful and so efficient as the last two in the cause of arbitration and of every peaceful settlement of differences. I mention them together because their work has been harmonious and consistent. We hailed with joy the generous initiative of the Russian Emperor, and sent to the Conference at The Hague the best men we had in our civic and military life. When the Hague Court lay apparently wrecked at the beginning of its voyage, threatened with death before it had fairly begun to live, it was the American government which gave it the breath of life by inviting the Republic of Mexico to share our appeal to its jurisdiction; and the second case brought before it was at the instance of Mr. Roosevelt, who declined in its favor the high honor of arbitrating an affair of world-wide importance. [Applause.]

I beg you to believe it is not by way of boasting that I recall these incidents to your minds; it is rather as a profession of faith in a cause which the present administration has deeply at heart that I ask you to remember, in the deliberations upon which you are entering, the course to which the American government is pledged and which it has steadily pursued for the last seven years. It is true that in those years we have had a hundred days of war—but they put an end forever to bloodshed which had lasted a generation. We landed a few platoons of marines on the Isthmus last year; but that act closed without a shot a sanguinary succession of trivial wars. We marched a little army to Peking; but it was to save not only the beleaguered legations, but a great imperiled civilization. By mingled gentleness and energy, to which most of the world beyond our borders has done justice, we have given to the Philippines, if not peace, at least a nearer approach to it than they have had within the memory of men.

If our example is worth anything to the world, we

have given it in the vital matter of disarmament. We have brought away from the Far East fifty-five thousand soldiers whose work was done, and have sent them back to the fields of peaceful activity. We have reduced our army to its minimum of sixty thousand men; in fact, we may say we have no army, but in place of one a nucleus for drill and discipline. We have three-fourths of one soldier for every thousand of the population — a proportion which, if adopted by other powers, would at once eliminate wars and rumors of wars from the daily thoughts of the chanceries of the world. [Applause.]

But fixed as our tradition is, clear as is our purpose in the direction of peace, no country is permanently immune to war so long as the desire and the practice of peace are not universal. If we quote Washington as an advocate of peace, it is but fair also to quote him where he says: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." And at another time he said: "To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression." To acknowledge the existence of an evil is not to support or approve it, but the facts must be faced. Human history is one long desolate story of bloodshed. All the arts unite in the apparent conspiracy to give precedence to the glory of arms. Demosthenes and Pericles adjured the Athenians by the memory of their battles. Horace boasted that he had been a soldier, *non sine gloria*. Even Milton, in that sublime sonnet where he said "Peace hath her victories no less than those of war," also mentioned among the godly trophies of Cromwell "Darwent's stream with blood of Scots imbrued." In almost every sermon and hymn we hear in our churches the imagery of war and battle is used. We are charged to fight the good fight of faith; we are to sail through bloody seas to win the prize. The Christian soldier is constantly marshaled to war. Not only in our habits and customs, but in our daily speech and in our inmost thoughts we are beset by the obsession of conflict and mutual destruction. It is like the law of sin in the members to which the greatest of the Apostles refers: "Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?"

I am speaking to those who recognize the lamentable state of things, and who yet do not accept it or submit to it, and who hope that through the shadow of this night we shall sweep into a younger day. [Applause.] How is this great deliverance to be accomplished?

We have all recently read that wonderful sermon on war by Count Tolstoy, in which a spirit of marvelous lucidity and fire, absolutely detached from geographical or political conditions, speaks the Word as it has been given him to speak it, and as no other living man could have done. As you read, with an aching heart, his terrible arraignment of war, feeling that as a man you are partly responsible for all human atrocities, you wait with impatience for the remedy he shall propose, and you find it is — Religion. Yes, that is the remedy. If all would do right, nobody would do wrong — nothing is plainer. It is a counsel of perfection, satisfactory to prophets and saints, to be reached in God's good time. But you are here to consult together to see whether the generation now alive may not do something to hasten

the coming of the acceptable day, the appearance on earth of the beatific vision. [Applause.] If we cannot at once make peace and goodwill the universal rule and practice of nations, what can we do to approximate this condition? What measures can we now take which may lead us at least a little distance toward the wished-for goal.

I have not come to advise you; I have no such ambitious pretensions. I do not even aspire to take part in your deliberations. But I am authorized to assure you that the American government extends to you a cordial and sympathetic welcome, and shares to the utmost the spirit and purpose in which you have met. [Applause.] The President, so long as he remains in power, has no thought of departing from the traditions bequeathed us by the great soldiers and statesmen of our early history, which have been strictly followed during the last seven years. We shall continue to advocate and to carry into effect, as far as practicable, the principle of the arbitration of such questions as may not be settled through diplomatic negotiations. We have already done much in this direction; we shall hope to do much more. The President is now considering the negotiation of treaties of arbitration with such of the European powers as desire them, and hopes to lay them before the Senate next winter. [Applause.] And, finally, the President has only a few days ago promised, in response to the request of the Interparliamentary Union, to invite the nations to a second Conference at The Hague to continue the work of the Conference of 1899. [Applause.]

Unhappily we can not foresee in the immediate future the cessation of wars upon the earth. We ought therefore to labor constantly for the mitigation of the horrors of war, especially to do what we can to lessen the sufferings of those who have no part in the struggle. This has been one of the most warmly cherished wishes of the last two administrations. I make no apology for reading you a paragraph from the message which President Roosevelt sent to Congress last December:

"There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. The Hague Court offers so good an example of what can be done in the direction of such settlement that it should be encouraged in every way.

"Further steps should be taken. In President McKinley's annual message of December 5, 1898, he made the following recommendation:

"The experiences of the last year bring forcibly home to us a sense of the burdens and the waste of war. We desire, in common with most civilized nations, to reduce to the lowest possible point the damage sustained in time of war by peaceable trade and commerce. It is true we may suffer in such cases less than other communities, but all nations are damaged more or less by the state of uneasiness and apprehension into which an outbreak of hostilities throws the entire commercial world. It should be our object, therefore, to minimize, so far as practicable, this inevitable loss and disturbance. This purpose can probably best be accomplished by an international agreement to regard all private property at sea as exempt

from capture or destruction by the forces of belligerent powers. The United States government has for many years advocated this humane and beneficent principle, and is now in a position to recommend it to other powers without the imputation of selfish motives. I therefore suggest for your consideration that the Executive be authorized to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime powers with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerent powers.'"

The President urged this beneficent scheme with an earnestness which gained the willing attention of Congress, already predisposed to it in spirit, and on the 28th of April of this year he was able to approve a joint resolution of both Houses recommending that the "President endeavor to bring about an understanding among the principal maritime powers, with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerents."

It has not been thought advisable by the President during the past summer to call the attention of the powers to a project which would necessarily be regarded by two of them, and possibly by others, with reference to its bearing upon the deplorable conflict now raging in the Far East. But as we earnestly pray that the return of peace may not be long delayed between the two nations, to both of which we are bound by so many historic ties, we may confidently look forward at no distant day to inviting the attention of the nations to this matter, and we hope we may have the powerful influence of this great organization in gaining their adherence. [Applause.]

The time allotted to me is at an end. I can only bid you Godspeed in your work. The task you have set yourselves, the purposes to which you are devoted, have won the praise of earth and the blessing of Heaven since the morning of time. The noblest of all the beatitudes is the consecration promised the peacemakers. Even if in our time we may not win the wreath of olive, even if we may not hear the golden clamor of the trumpets celebrating the reign of universal and enduring peace, it is something to have desired it, to have worked for it in the measure of our forces. And if you now reap no visible guerdon of your labors, the peace of God that passes understanding will be your all-sufficient reward. [Great applause.]

## The Peace Congress and the Hague Tribunal.

*Address of Hon. Oscar S. Straus, United States Member of the Hague Court, at the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, October 4, 1904.*

The *leit motif* or the national spirit among nations changes from age to age, and so consequently do the causes that bring about conflict and war. Beginning with modern times, with the Reformation, we first note as the dominant war cause ecclesiastical enmities, the conflicts between Romanism and Protestantism, which brought on that terrible age of devastating wars known in history as the Thirty Years' War, over whose bloody pits was concluded in 1648 the famous Treaty of Westphalia, which was framed by the first great peace con-

gress, and from which dates the permanent diplomatic system of modern times. With the lapse of another century the *leit motif* of nations changed from ecclesiastical enmities to the hunger for conquest and territorial expansion, beginning with the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which terminated in the second great peace congress, which framed the Treaty of Paris, and which, extending to this hemisphere, adjusted the colonial possessions of Great Britain, France and Spain, and so materially altered the map of the American continent. This period of conquest culminated in the infuriated heroism of the Napoleonic wars, and was terminated in 1815 by the third, and up to that time the most important peace congress in all history, which framed the Treaty of Vienna. By this Treaty was definitely established the balance of power between European states, which lasted for half a century, until it was extended and reconstructed after the Russo-Turkish war, by the fourth great peace congress, which framed, in 1878, the Treaty of Berlin. At this congress Great Britain and Germany, under their distinguished premiers, Disraeli, Salisbury and Bismarck, and the other great European powers, under their foremost statesmen, won a more decisive and more enduring victory than their armies had won at Sebastopol, Metz and Plevna. They caused the war clouds that hung black and threatening from the Baltic to the tropics to roll by, and ushered in the bright sun which shed its rays of "peace with honor" over the trembling chancelleries of Europe and Asia.

From Hugo Grotius to William Penn, and from William Penn to William Ellery Channing, and from Channing and Charles Sumner to Jean de Bloch, publicists, dreamers, philosophers and divines have advocated the cause of peace with that persistent devotion that so noble a cause can awaken in the souls of men whose hearts are attuned to humanity's universal plea. They have through all these years prepared the great powers of the world for the greatest and most representative peace congress of all times, the Hague Peace Congress.

The work of this Conference, the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Arbitration by the representatives of the twenty-six leading nations of the world, marks not only the crowning glory of the nineteenth century, but, with God's blessings, the most enduring humanitarian achievement of the ages. Although the time was not yet ripe to enable this Congress to succeed in lessening the armaments of war, the very establishment of the Permanent Tribunal, with its nearly fourscore members ever ready to respond to the nations' call for the adjustment of international differences, cannot fail in time to effectively contribute to that inevitable end, and tend more and more to bring "the future of Humanity under the Majesty of the Law."

As Americans and hopeful advocates of peace, you will pardon the justified pride we feel in the tribute paid to our country only a few days ago by that distinguished French peace advocate, publicist and statesman, a leading delegate to the Peace Conference, and a member of the Permanent Tribunal, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. I quote from his statement given to the Associated Press. After expressing his regret for his inability to be present with us, a regret which I am sure is shared by every one here, he said:

"I had hoped at Boston to recognize publicly the grand and